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778 must give them respect and why the folk are scared
789 not to obey them. (Thus it is like the aradjang
171 in South Celebes.)

789 The guru really got going on magic power. He
721 said that they call on magic power especially
778 when they are going to war (and right now too).
769 If, for example, Wailolong were going to war tomorrow with Riang Kamië as they did only some fifteen years ago, the respective radja tuan, kelake, and maybe even the molang would get to work the night before doing the magic stuff. Among the other things they would call on the ancestors for magic power and also go through the betel rubbing on face, bodies, etc. They would also kill animals and use gin, because blood and alcohol have power. Then, on the next morning, they would be full of magical power and would go to war. All the men would come to the "big houses" to be "treated."

778 These "big houses" of the suku and ama also
614 have sacred objects, including tusks, plates,
237 etc.

422 These tusks, all of them, are ama property.
583 If any member gains possession of one, he places it in the big house of his ama. Any man in need of some tusks for a bride price may take them. If the tusks of the ama are exhausted, he may draw on the tusks of the suku. Thus Kassi, who Vatter said had no tusks of his own, could not use any tusks because his ama no longer had any. He happened to be a member of the Hurint suku, and the guru, the kepala suku, gave him some finally from the suku store and thus he was able to get married.

583 The minimum price for any girl is five units
237 of tusks (I think this is a matter of length, that is, the small and large are reckoned up). One may pay more without limitation. It is not a matter of beauty.

584 Child betrothal is common here, but this is
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584 true no more for the Christians in Leloba. Here
184 they have only adult betrothal. In Wailolong, however, there is still plenty of this child betrothal business. This may take place at the age of three to four years. They are told of this when they are from five to six years old. As children they think nothing of this until
584 they become older. Sometimes the tusks are paid
583 early; at other times they wait until actual marriage. If the boy's father agrees to pay for a girl and later the boy refuses, he must pay the bride price anyway. In the old days, however, a boy never refused, or almost never. The younger brother of the guru hated the girl he was betrothed to as a child and ran away to Badjawa. His father paid the tusks anyway and they were lost by so doing. Later the brother married a woman from Roti.

621 The guru was the first man from the Belakang
582 Gunung [behind the mountain] area (consisting of eight kampongs) who married a Larantuka woman. His wife was from Balela. Later, the present kakang (who is a Leloba man) married a woman from Balela too. Balela is a foothill kampong now a part of Larantuka town.

595 A man may have up to three wives, but no more.

The guru's father had much magic power. He
789 was the panglima perang [war leader] here. He
776 had familiar spirits who helped him and usually
178 he alone saw them. Other people would see them
825 sometimes. Thus the guru heard a noise like a horse in front of the house one night when he was young. He looked out and there stood a buffalo. There are no buffaloes in this area. He called his father and the latter told him to shut up. This buffalo was one of his father's familiars. Another time the guru was in the fields with his father and heard stones rattling. He saw a crocodile. There are no crocodiles here either. He called his father, and again his

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000 they might try reasoning with them, they would go no further.

•584 762 The same story holds for marriage. If a child does not like his parent's choice of a mate, the marriage does not occur. There have been a few cases, however, of suicide (always by hanging) on the part of both men and women, because of desperate love and mismarriage. This is interesting, and if I have the time I will try to get these cases down.

582 835 614 178 The marriage system is the thing, and it is exogamous with complicated rules. There has been no change. Even the very few cases of endogamy have not increased. The only thing that has been modified is the fact that there is no longer an allowance of blood mother's 777 brother's daughter marriage. This is a Catholic taboo. This is true at least in Leloba, although I am not sure about Wailolong. They have to be careful to have fourth grade distance (that is, third cousins, via great grandparents). What the system allows is the choice of a mother's brother's daughter (that is, married into the suku of the man's mother) or married into one or two other suku of the ama linked with his suku by marriage. Thus a boy of Hurint Demong (the guru's may marry Belemang, Belepe Lolong A, or Waktukang Keleng. If his mother was Belemang, this would work out all right. In the old days, this would have been the best thing for him, that is, a girl of his mother's group (I want a girl just like the girl that married dear old dad). This is because of the good relations already, and anyway they like these close and reinforced linkages in suku relationships. It is not a matter of bringing back the tusks more rapidly, as one needs to make three moves anyway, and they can do this if they marry in any other group aside from the mother's. But, even in the old days, though this mother's brother's daughter

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611 583 614 591 However, all children are descended patrilineally. That is, there is no ambil anak here. In any case, the bride price must be paid eventually. It may even take two generations to do this, but the debt is remembered and the books must finally be balanced. This eventuates as follows: If a man can't pay with tusks, he pays with a daughter. It may be any daughter, the first, second, or later daughter. If the man has no daughters, the debt remains and must be paid someday. But, she does not become a member of her mother's sib. She remains a member of her father's sib and marries as though she were a full member of it. That is, all that happens is that when she marries, her price goes to her mother's sib. This is a very peculiar arrangement, and it is purely for monetary reasons. The sons are called anak suku. The daughters are called anak gading ("elephant-tusk children"). Thus the price of a woman is either tusks or a daughter. The daughter who is given for the price may live matrilocally or patrilocally, depending on where her parents live.

582 621 614 There are some marriages between Wailolong and other districts. Roy can think of cases with Lewotala, Wolo, and Lewinga, and he thinks there are others. I asked him how they figure the marriage rules in such cases. He said that if there were already suku there which corresponded to those in the kampong, the situation was easily resolved. If previous marriage relations existed between the two areas, it is also a simple matter to figure out the marriage relations. If no previous marriage relations exist, it is easy to figure out anyway, as none of the rules applies. Thus Roy's brother married a girl from Roti whom he met on his travels. This was no problem, as she was far outside the pattern area. What usually happens, however, is that a boy, for example, sees a girl at the

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582 584 Larantuka market and likes her. He finds that she is from, for example, Lewotala. Then he tells his father, and the latter goes there and asks "whence her blood." If the relationship is not close, or there is a relationship but they figure it out to be all right, then they go ahead with arrangements (how these people work at their rules!) Anyway, when [583] they marry outside the area of the local pattern, they must pay a higher bride price in order "to fix it up." Thus, this is not the right thing to do, and it requires the same kind of thing in a way as a breach of exogamy. In a way, it is a breach of endogamy, in a sense that one should marry within the "adat belt."

"The Ordered World of Ili Mandiri."

582 621 Roy says that he believes that if more people traveled outside of the area there would be more marriages outside of the area. This might, I think, lead to a final confusion of the rules. To keep such a complex scheme going they have to keep the marriages from going out of bounds, where the rules are off. If the rules get far enough off they may go out of vogue.

Marriages outside of East Flores are very [484] rare, and only in a few cases has this happened. They have been local men who have traveled outside, for example, the few soldiers.

[609] There is not a single case of a marriage with foreigners.

582 178 The average marriage age used to be older. It might be even thirty or thirty-five for men. Now it tends to be anything over eighteen for girls and anything over twenty for boys. They still have the feeling against too early a marriage. They say that if the couple are too young, it is not good as the children will not be so healthy and it will not be too good for the health of the parents. Young people can marry more easily today because the children

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582 178 become competent earlier. They learn to work earlier now. Roy[1] says that the school helps in getting them trained at an earlier age and they begin to weave and do other tasks sooner.

836 178 684 I jumped on this to see if there was much premarital sex, and he said that it was extremely rare. He said that as far as this is concerned there has not been much change. I pressed, and Kattenburg got the kepala kampong aside and tried to pump him. They remained adamant, however. It is just very rare. Even when a man is not married until he is thirty-five, they claim he does not engage in sexual promiscuity. [578] There is no prostitution here and none in Larantuka either. And anyway, they never go anywhere where they might get girls. There are very strong taboos on premarital sex. (He said that the girls would lose their name, which indicates that it has happened, perhaps.)

584 836 But there is an exception which came out when he told of two ways to get married. These are the two: (1) Prearranged and regular marriages. This type counts for most cases. (2) Boy likes girl and begins to hang around her house at night. He slips a cloth or something into her sleeping place and she asks who is there. He tells, and if she doesn't like him she tells him to go away. If she is willing to talk, they talk, and this may go on at night for as long as five years. If a girl has several such suitors, she sends all except one away, and he keeps on having dates. Perhaps the parents do not find out about this, or perhaps in singing and gossip it comes out that they are "going together." At this point a marriage may be arranged. Or, and here comes in the premarital sex practices, the girl may at least let the boy in and they have sexual intercourse. As soon as her parents discover them, marriage must take place. (Also, I suppose, if she be-

[1] [i.e. the assistant --Analyst]

584 836 comes pregnant.) This sexual activity is about the same as marriage anyway, as it leads finally to marriage. And anyway, there is no adat rite of marriage. What happened in the 584 836 178 178 old days and what still goes on among the pagans is simply that one day, when everything is all right, the girl is brought to the boy's house, and the couple simply moves in. There is no ceremony.

Nowadays, with Catholicism, and with prearranged marriages, they have a church rite before they sleep together. But the other type of marriage goes on, and in this case they just confess and get married after having slept together. This is a pretty case. And even 595 178 183 prettier is the case of polygyny. In the old days this was more frequent, but even now there are Christians who have more than one wife. In this case the first one is married in church, but the second can have no church rites. (As he says, she has no sacramen.)

684 832 721 128 627 They are very prudish about molesting girls (ganggu). If, for example, a boy squeezes the breast of a girl, and even if she likes it and says nothing, her father and brothers, if they hear about it, go to his house and kill his animals and break up his tusks. They get directly at his property (and that of his ama or suku too) thus, and so it hurts. He has molested their property, and they get back at him in the same way. This might lead to war, and often did in the old days. Note that he mentions as the second most frequent cause of war that of molesting women.

832 684 628 He gave a fine case of trouble between kampongs resulting from such a case. In his youth three girls from Leloba were molested by boys from another kampong. The girls were getting water. The father and brothers of the girls became angry and smashed up the belongings of

562 but the men have a slight edge on the women. They are more "important." In rights, privileges, etc., they are equal. There is no abuse of women, and they are supreme in their own spheres; it is just that the men's sphere seems to be a bit more important. Women scold and shout and order the men around. They are not [593] suppressed. If, for example, a man drinks too much, his wife will simply stop fixing his food and he will quickly come around and apologize.

●584 178 882 Formerly, most marriages were prearranged. This is less true today. Indeed, there was much more forced marriage before, and I get the idea that it is rare for one to show resistance when faced with a parental choice. There were cases [762] of suicide (male and female) and running away. In the old days, the regular thing was for the parents to fix up everything by themselves. Today, more and more of the boys and girls speak up telling whom they like so that the parents learn of this before they try to fix up the marriage arrangement. Thus the initiative is shifting from the parents to the children.

I get the idea that there was quite a lot of trouble in the old days in this regard. Perhaps this was more pronounced as new ideas came in, if such an expression can be used for this stagnant place. For example, Roy's brother ran away.

764 [177] At this point there was a funeral. The other guru had excused himself, and then we heard a low chant approaching, in the local language. It sounded like the Latin chanting the Catholics do in procession (an obvious imitation of the priests' chanting, in the local language). Then a line of people appeared, two by two, with a bamboo coffin of a little child on a litter, and behind this the guru with a sheet on, which had been made into a kind of cloak, resembling that of a priest. Behind him came the mourners. The

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842 family." This shows [a] the belligerent nature
181 of these people and [b] their distrust of most
[578] other people). Girls are good for weaving, house work, and for the bride price that they bring in. When I pressed the matter, they said that perhaps it was better actually to have a few more girls than boys, because of the money they bring in. This is different from Larantuka, and perhaps shows the greedy nature of these folk. They don't like all girls or all boys.

842 They have no knowledge or idea of limiting the number of children. As usual I told them about birth control in the United States, and they were very much surprised. They seem to have heard vaguely that there may be some sort of medicine used to prevent having children, but they never think of using it.

163 They are unclear, but they think that the
178 average number of births per woman is between five and six. This may reflect the late marriage age here. Of these, three or four live (perhaps the population here is indeed relatively stationary). They think there has been little change in this regard, and this may be true, as it seems to be about as dirty and uncared for medically as it was before, or at least there has been no great improvement. They said that a great number of children die in infancy.

855 There was a chorus of agreement to the ef-
887 fect that the mother is the important one here. The father is away working all the time. Old women help in caring for the children.

584 There is no modern courtship. Intermediaries are used.

581 Although they do not like ugly women in a showdown, the ugly worker wins over the pretty drone. In fact, they think first about her skill as a worker and second in terms of her

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624 gendang (the aradjang pattern) from the head tuan tanah of the original kampong.

166 609 [443] [335] The groups of people who visit the village more or less regularly (actually only occasionally) are as follows: (1) pastors, (2) traders to buy stock, Chinese, Arabs, etc., (3) a Chinese pedlar who comes with a coolie carrying a pack, (4) government men, and (5) specialist carpenters who come to build houses.

They stay for a short time only, except for the carpenters, who stay for about two months.

One other class is important. It comprises the outsiders who have gardens in the kampong. They come to work in their gardens, stay awhile and leave. They sleep with the kampong folk as their guests.

[584] Family relationships are definitely interrupted by migration. Usually one starts the ball rolling by marriage or by buying a garden, and then relatives follow. This is important in regard to marriage because the young folk become acquainted in this way. It is a case of "propinquity".

166 609 518 The immigrants must follow the local adat absolutely. They take part in the same rituals, pay the tributes of the land, etc. Thus there is no trouble. However, there are occasional difficulties in managing the gardens. For example, the local people become jealous of the outsiders who have big crops, or argue one way or the other. There is not much trouble, however, and usually things are quite serene.

[783] There are no specific ideas about the outside world. Still, when one returns after a long stay in some other place, they have a rite to "clean the dirt." I am informed that there is no opposition shown toward those who accept the outsiders. However, I wonder if there may not be at certain times. Evidently there is no policy of "exclusion," and my guess is that if outsiders are not welcome they are told so and that is all.

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582 291 178 people married earlier, because they got their clothes earlier. Cornelius' says that until about twenty-five years ago you could see quite old and young people going about naked. He remembers this. They do not like too young marriages (!). Also, they do not like them if the partners are too old.

[561] There are no age grades.

614 The Veol clan is very large, but there are clans which are even larger. Not a single clan has ever become extinct. However, some panga have. There is one such panga in Veol.

562 178 584 Formerly, the position of women was really low, like that of slaves. Now they are a little higher. Today there is a beginning in the direction of freer choice in marriage. Formerly all marriages were arranged by the elders.

611 The system here is all patrilineal, and there have been no changes.

162 In 1930, Cornelius' says, there were five thousand extra women in all Manggarai. I will check the records for the ratio.

587 768 The levirate obtains if there is a widow. If there is no brother, her family must take her back, and pay one horse. The children stay with the dead father's family. If the levirate goes through, the man pays one horse.

[583] If a widow remarries to a man other than the brother of her deceased husband, the price must be paid to the family of the dead husband, and the "bonds" are "broken." The sororate is not required. The bride price is required in the case of a sororate. It is quite usual, because the sister of the deceased is accustomed to the widower and his children. The children of course stay with the father's family always.

586 There is not much divorce, but it did occur and still does.

[587] The main cause of divorce is discord, not barrenness, as in this case a man simply gets another wife.

' [i.e., the assistant --Analyst]

586 another wife.

586 In the case of adultery on the part of a
684 woman, a fine must be paid to the grieved hus-
562 band. The wife pays only a little, her paramour a lot. In the case of a man committing adultery, there is no fine or punishment of any sort. The wife may be angry, but that is all.

A man may divorce an errant wife, but there is no bride price return. This just about never occurs. A man is satisfied with the fine.

Adat here does not allow for killing an adulterous couple caught in the act. This may be done later, but it is still not allowed, and not condoned. The payment of a fine is the thing here.

If a divorce is requested by a man, there is no repayment of the bride price, and he must pay one horse. If a wife asks for a divorce, the price must be repaid. The children always stay with the father's family.

842 The people here like many children; the more the better. There is no set limitation. When I talk about birth control, often, all over they say about condoms that they are "like the Japanese use." He was surprised about other methods of birth control. Until now there has been no thought of limitation.

Cornelius[1] says that about ten children are
[163] born per woman, but only about half or a little more live to adulthood. Sons are more important. If a couple has only one child, they prefer a son. A few more sons than daughters are wanted. Va'u and bride price considerations are important.

868 When the children are very young the mother takes care of their education. Then the children follow the parent of the same sex and learn their roles and work.

584 There is just about no courtship. Formerly
178 marriages were all prearranged. Now, most frequently the young people tell their parents

[1] [i.e., the assistant--Analyst]

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584 whom they like. They always used and still use
178 intermediaries for the approach. There is never a chance for much acquaintance before marriage.

581 In marriage the main thing wanted is a good
276 worker, by both sexes. Secondly, they want good behavior and good nature. Looks are very unimportant for both. I notice this, and it may be a reason why betel mouths are of no consequence. But I do notice that the prettiest young women I see (the head guru's wife and the mandur's wife) do not use betel. Maybe they are beginning to think of their appearance a bit. I asked him if the men here think the guru's wife is pretty. He said not especially so. She happens to be a beauty. I said that in the United States she would be so regarded, and he seemed embarrassed at the whole talk. They evidently don't go into such questions very much if at all.

836 About ten to twenty-five per cent of the women here are not virgins at marriage, but he says, how can he tell? This is his guess. They do it in the dark. A girl can ruin her name in this fashion, but they do it secretly. If a bride is not a virgin, there is no fuss. He insisted that there is no special feeling about it, which seems a bit queer. He said that perhaps there is a bit more sex now, but he is very uncertain. About fifty per cent of the men are not virgins at marriage. There is not much sex with widows, mainly with those who are young girls. But there was a bit of talk about widows, and it seems that there are cases. If
[848] a bastard is born, the mother looks for a husband. If she can't find a man who is willing to marry her, the children merely enter the girl's family. Cornelius[1] doesn't know of a case in Veol.

584 An adat wedding first involves an intermediary to sound out whether the marriage will be

[1] [i.e., the assistant--Analyst]

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584 all right with the girl and her parents. If all is all right, the boy and his family go to the girl's house. There they exchange betel ingredients, talk around a lot, and then edge in to the essential business. They never get explicit, however. This is all done in a very circumlocutory manner. Children sitting around never know what they are talking about. Thus they talk about "needing to build a good fence." Thus the price is set. They start by saying that they need so much to build a fence, and the boy's family says so much money, up to fl. 5.00, gradually. As this is added on, the girl's family keeps on saying that they need more and more to make the fence stronger. Thus they say they need "five trees," i.e., five buffaloes or horses. The relation of the money to animals is set. For each horse [435] the value is fl. 2.50, and for each buffalo it is fl. 5.00. The day is set for about a week hence, and it must be a "good" day (evidently they do not use professional soothsayers). Everything is prepared. Thus the family goes home, and the boy stays at the girl's house and works. However, he doesn't sleep with or talk much with the girl.

585 On the wedding day the family of the boy (but not his parents) come again, bringing animals and money. All are well dressed, and so is the boy. The bride price (patja) is paid, and then come the rites (umbur). Pigs are killed (provided by the girl's family, one for each horse or buffalo in the bride price), there is eating and there is drinking. The pigs are killed in front of the house, while the pair sit together inside. This goes on for one day and they are thus married. This rite is called numpang or atjar nao vase vunut (the latter means "fence of nao wood, with idjuk rope," i.e., "the fence is secured with rope").